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Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, FR, IT, US

SUBJECT: BRITISH MINISTER COMMENTS ON EUROCOMMUNISM

REF: LONDON 12621 ROME 1232

1. DEPARTMENT IS POUCHING TO EMBASSY PAPER ON "EUROCOMMU-
NISM" WHICH CAN BE PASSED TO JUDD. IN TRANSMITTING THIS
STUDY YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT IT WAS WRITTEN SEVERAL MONTHS
AGO, BUT THAT IT CONTINUES TO REFLECT GENERAL LINE OF
DEPARTMENT'S THINKING ON PROBLEMS POSED BY WESTERN EUROPEAN
COMMUNIST PARTIES. PAPER IS CLASSIFIED SECRET, AND JUDD
SHOULD BE CAUTIONED IN THE NEED TO KEEP ITS CONTENTS AND
PROVENANCE CONFIDENTIAL.

2. STUDY IN QUESTION IS STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, AND DOES
NOT DISCUSS POSSIBLE RESPONSES. IN PASSING THE PAPER TO
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JUDD, YOU SHOULD TAKE OCCASION TO REVIEW US POLICY TOWARD
WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES ALONG THE FOLLOWING
LINES:

-- AS NOTED IN THIS STUDY, THE US REMAINS GREATLY CONCERNED
OVER NEGATIVE IMPACT WHICH ANY ENHANCED INFLUENCE OF COMMU-
NIST PARTIES OVER WESTERN GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES OR OPERA-

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TIONS WOULD HAVE ON THE FABRIC OF ATLANTIC AND INTRA-
EUROPEAN RELATIONS.

-- USG IS THEREFORE DETERMINED NOT TO DO ANYTHING TO
ENHANCE PROSPECTS OF THIS HAPPENING.

-- AT THE SAME TIME,USG WISHES TO EXPRESS ITS VIEWS IN A
MANNER WHICH MINIMIZES COUNTERPRODUCTIVE BACKLASH ON THE
PART OF EUROPEANS WHO, WHILE THEY MAY SHARE US CONCERNS,
OBJECT TO ANY APPEARANCE OF THE US DICTATING THEIR DECI-
SIONS. THUS THE USG HAS EMPHASIZED ITS DETERMINATION NOT
TO INTERFERE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES OF OTHER NATIONS.

-- IN TERMS OF CONTACTS THE USG HAS FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS
MAINTAINED MORE OR LESS REGULAR, WORKING-LEVEL CONTACT WITH
THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. CONTACTS WITH THE FRENCH
COMMUNISTS HAVE BEEN MAINTAINED AT A SIMILAR LEVEL, BUT
LESS REGULARLY, DUE TO PCF RETICENCE. THE PCF NOW APPEARS
INTERESTED IN INCREASING SUCH CONTACTS. WE INTEND TO
RESPOND CAUTIOUSLY, TO ENSURE THAT THE PCF GAINS NO
ELECTORAL ADVANTAGE FROM SUCH STEPS. NOW THAT THE SPANISH
COMMUNIST PARTY HAS BEEN LEGALIZED, WE ARE INITIATING
WORKING-LEVEL CONTACTS OF THE SORT WE HAVE LONG MAINTAINED
WITH THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN PARTIES.

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-- THE USG WISHES TO MOVE AWAY FROM THE PRACTICE OF USING
VISAS AS A SYMBOLIC STAMP OF APPROVAL OR DISAPPROVAL. WE
VIEW SUCH A PRACTICE AS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE IN TERMS OF
PROJECTING US POLICY, AND AS INCONSISTENT WITH OUR EMPHASIS,
IN CSCE AND ELSEWHERE, ON FREER MOVEMENT OF PEOPLES. AT
THE SAME TIME US LAW CONTINUES TO REQUIRE THAT WAIVERS BE
OBTAINED FOR ANY COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS, AND THE USG MUST,
THEREFORE, CONTINUE TO EXAMINE EACH CASE ON AN INDIVIDUAL
BASIS.

3. REGARDING STEPS HMG MIGHT TAKE TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM
POSED BY THE WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES, YOU SHOULD
PUT FORWARD THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION:

-- WAYS MIGHT BE FOUND TO ENHANCE LINKS WITH THE FRENCH
SOCIALISTS, BOTH TO BOLSTER THEM VIS-A-VIS THEIR COMMUNIST
PARTNERS, AND EDUCATE THEM TO THE REALITIES OF EUROPEAN
AND ATLANTIC INTERDEPENDENCE. WHILE AVOIDING STEPS WHICH
MIGHT ENHANCE THE POSSIBILITY OF A VICTORY OF THE PRESENT
LEFT COALITION IN FRANCE'S UPCOMING ELECTIONS, THE USG
HAS ENCOURAGED, AND IN SOME CASES FACILITATED TRAVEL OF A
NUMBER OF SOCIALIST LEADERS TO THE US, AND OTHERWISE SOUGHT

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TO EXPAND CONTACTS WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

-- SUPPORT FOR THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY IS ADMITTEDLY
A LONGER-TERM INVESTMENT. WESTERN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS
(AND PARTIES) MUST BE CAUTIOUS HOWEVER OF APPEARING TO
DISMISS THE PSI, AND THUS IMPLICITLY CONCEDING TO THE PCI
AN INDEFINITE MONOPOLY OVER REPRESENTATION OF THE LEFT OF
ITALY'S POLITICAL SPECTRUM. IN ADDITION, A MORE BENIGN
ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF WESTERN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS (OR
PARTIES) TOWARD THE PCI WOULD IN OUR VIEW LESSEN THE
PRESSURE ON THAT PARTY TO DEMONSTRATE MODERATION, WHILE
REDUCING DETERMINATION AMONG CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS TO RESIST
FURTHER STEPS TOWARDS THE "HISTORIC COMPROMISE".

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-- IN SPAIN, ANYTHING HMG (AND THE LABOR PARTY) COULD
DO TO PERSUADE THE TUC TO GIVE PREFERENCE IN ITS CONTACTS
TO ITS SOCIALIST COUNTERPART, THE UGT, RATHER THAN THE
COMMUNIST-DOMINATED "WORKERS COMMISSIONS" WOULD BE HELPFUL.
SIMILARLY, EFFORTS MIGHT BE MADE WITH PSOE TO ORIENT ITS
APPROACH TO FOREIGN AND DEFENSE ISSUES TOWARD EUROPEAN AND
ATLANTIC SOLUTIONS, AND AWAY FROM THE ROMANTIC THIRD
WORLDISM, ILL-SUITED TO SPAIN'S ECONOMIC, GEOGRAPHIC, AND
POLITICAL STATUS, WHICH NOW CHARACTERIZES MUCH OF THAT
PARTY'S THINKING.

4. IN CLOSING YOU MAY NOTE THAT DEPARTMENT REMAINS OPEN
TO FURTHER EXCHANGES ON THESE ISSUES. WE UNDERSTAND FOR
INSTANCE THAT DEPUTY UNDERSECRETARY HIBBERT INTENDS TO
ACCOMPANY FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN TO NEW YORK FOR THE UNGA
IN SEPTEMBER. ASSISTANT SECRETARY VEST WOULD BE AVAILABLE
TO DISCUSS THESE QUESTIONS WITH HIBBERT OR OTHER OFFICIALS
THEN, OR LATER, AS DESIRED. CHRISTOPHER

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